4: Up de Graff--190-191 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 431, 576

"We had been careful to bring with us an assortment of trade-goods--a few beads, some small round looking-glasses, and (most successful of all) a supply of their own particular brand of poison. This latter we carried in sections of bamboo cane, about an inch in diameter and six inches long. The poison is poured in after removing one of the knots or partitions which grow at regular intervals, and the cup thus formed, when full, is closed with a palm leaf tied down with a strip of bark; the latter is put on green, and when it dries it automatically tightens up, sealing this natural receptacle as securely as a jam-pot

Once they began to take an interest in the presents, things went swimmingly. Little by little the howling of the tribe in the huts behind the undergrowth had died away, open hostility gave place to confidence, more and more savages slipped down to the canoe to see what we had, urged thereto by their companions who had already done so, and little by little friendly relations were established. Finally, their curiosity, nursed by the evident delight of their men-folk at the treatment they were receiving at our hands, overcame the women of the settlement. Down they came to the bank, each one bearing an enormous gourd full of giamanchi, first in one and twos [191] and then in one great stampede. The etiquette in connection with the welcoming of guests, be they friends or strangers, is rigid and extremely burdensome to one whose stomach is not accustomed to receiving unlimited gallons of liquid. A rough estimate proves that there must have been presented to us in all some 600 gallons of giamanchi, all of which we were expected to

drink if possible. If not, we were at any rate bound to taste each one of the gourds which were brought down to the river by the some 300 wives of the numerous warriors who were assembled on that beach. For refusal to accept food at the hands of any one of the women, who represent their lords in this ceremony, is sure to incur grave displeasure. After the tenth drink or so Game, who was of a distinctly independent turn of mind, began to protest to me in no uncertain terms that he would 'see himself dead before he would touch another drop ' I implored him at any rate to go through the motions of imbibing, to which he eventually allowed himself to be persuaded. And so we solemnly raised every one of those nauseating receptacles to our lips, and were at peace with the Antipas."

"Bit by bit the leaven of our carefully chosen words was seen to be working in the minds of the Indians. From time to time the chief would bring up the subject of those presents, with childish inquiries as to the size [200] of the hand-mirrors and the colours of the beads. Had we made him a direct proposition to come down-stream with us, it is very likely that his natural caution would have persuaded him that we were preparing a trap. We were in a quandary that third night of our stay with him, for the next day we should have had to go back to camp in any event, having arranged with the others to return within fifteen days at all costs if alive and free. We were debating as to whether we should openly propose to 'Lázaro' that he should accompany us with a party of canoe-men, when we saw him putting off in his canoe to come over to the island.

He landed, came straight over to where we were sitting by the fire and sat down. A few minutes' talk brought him to the real purpose of his visit.

Why could not the difficulty about getting the presents through the Pongo be overcome by him going down with us with some of his expert river-men and helping us?

We jumped to our feet. What fools we had been never to think of that way out!... How brilliant an idea had occurred to him!.... Why, at one blow he had solved the whole problem, and his tribe would reap the benefit of his astuteness. Most certainly! We had never thought of such a thing, but would avail ourselves of his offer. When should we start? The sooner the better, after all: on the morrow?.... Right. We would waste no time.

And, although it was never sure whether we should reach the Pongo with any Antipas until we were actually under way and, what is more, out of sight of the hutments on the bank, it is a matter of history that we did. For next day, without any fuss or ceremony, we bought a sound dugout for one carisa of poison, and pushed off with eight canoemen, led by the medicine man Pitacunca en route for Borja and our friends."

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/
is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadi-
ness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed
to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each
tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the
opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown
by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and
the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[129] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the
free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation.
This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head
is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put
in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin
dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used,
until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
[264] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless
drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large
containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant
taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes
strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

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expeditions entered the region from the Andean highlands, but several ended disastrously and none of them resulted in permanent colonization.[21] One of the few "friendly" gestures reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when they gave a Spanish missionizing expedition "gifts," which included the skulls of Spaniards who had apparently been killed earlier by the Jívaro.[22]

Interestingly, the present-day Jívaro seem to have no memory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants:

> A very long time ago there were the *ai apačï* ["*ai*" white men]. They were many. They were all of bone to their elbows and to their knees. They could move their arms and legs only beyond their elbows and knees. They had shirts and pants. They were fierce and tall. There were many, many of them, and they had women and children. All were the same in not being able to move except for their forearms and lower legs. They didn't have hats, but wore something like the helmets of the [present-day Ecuadorian] soldiers. These men had machetes of iron that they used for killing. They carried their machetes on the left hip. The machetes were somewhat yellow. These machetes had handles of human bone. They said that they had killed many whites with their machetes. They also had shoes. These whites had *mačïn* . . . they rode on top of these. I think these must have been horses. The *huarä* were scared of them. These whites also had *mua*. I do not know what they were.

The informant explained that the bone extending to the knees and elbows of the *ai apačï* was something like the shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the

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756 bewitching shamans (*tsantsek*, or *yahauch tsuisim*: bad shaman) derive their social influence primarily from the fear in which they are held by their neighbors. Their mildly expressed wishes are often interpreted as near commands by laymen. The curing type of shaman (*peser tsuisim*: good shaman) exercises a less ominous type of social power, deriving primarily from the fact that his neighbors tend to view him as an important asset to their welfare. They normally court his favor in order to assure themselves of his future willingness to cure them or members of their family.

[556] In terms of material goods, shamans are invariably the wealthiest persons and usually candidly admit that they supply their services primarily for the purpose of gaining valuables.

[465] They expect to be paid for their curing or bewitching services with the most highly valued goods available. A single treatment normally nets a curing shaman at least a muzzle-loading shotgun, for example. Often a blowgun, a hunting dog, or a machete is thrown in. Curers often refuse to visit a distant patient unless paid in advance, and, even then, may demand additional payment if the cure requires more than a single night's ministrations.

[431] [558] Among the Jivaro, a request for a gift cannot be refused without the denier "losing face," making it difficult for the majority of persons to hoard quantities of possessions. While non-shamans continually badger each other for gifts, thereby preventing the accumulation of wealth by a few individuals among themselves, they almost never ask shamans for goods, fearing the wrath of the bewitchers and wishing to cultivate the goodwill of the curers. Thus shamans are usually the only persons able to accumulate significant quantities of goods.

Shamans frequently utilize their wealth and social influence to secure specific services from their non-shaman neighbors.

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Several cases were encountered in which men gave their daughters in marriage to shamans without the customary bride-service, or even the less common bride-price, because the girls' fathers feared the bewitching power of the shamans. It is also standard practice for shamans to be given gifts of chickens, clothing, and ornaments during casual visits to laymen's houses, even though the shamans have not specifically asked for them. Laymen, in contrast, are usually not given presents by fellow non-shamans without asking for them. Shamans are quite conscious of their privileges, and often boasted to me how well they (compared to non-shamans) were fed when visiting neighbors' houses.

Shamans host neighbors to help in land clearing more often than do non-shamans. Such labor is ostensibly reciprocal, but the shaman's neighbors are reluctant to ask him to work for them in turn. This is partly due to their desire to maintain his goodwill, but there also seems to be a feeling that extensive manual labor is not in keeping with the shaman's supernatural preoccupations and services.

A shaman obtains his power to bewitch or cure exclusively through purchase. To become a shaman, a man presents a sizeable gift to an established practitioner. Such a gift must have some real value in native terms. Typically, it consists of one or two muzzle-loading shotguns, gunpowder, shot, primers, a blowgun and curare, and a machete or steel axehead. In return for this payment, the practicing shaman instructs the apprentice in his new profession and supplies him with magical power, in the form of the spirit servants called *tsentsak* (see pp. 154–66). The exchange of shamanistic power for payment in material valuables (*kuit*) makes the two men *amigri* or "friends," as is the case with normal trading partners (see pp. 128–31). However, the relationship between shamans is a hierarchical one signif-

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Upon returning home, a shaman soon barters part of his power, in turn, to men coming to visit him from the south, or he may also dispense it to men of his own neighborhood who are unwilling to undertake even the short trip northward. In any event, the shaman may directly supply power to no more than four men. After that, his power is believed to be so drained off that he must obtain a new supply of magical darts.

The relationship between the shaman supplying the magical power and the person receiving it is not a relationship between equals. The power-giver is referred to in these tribes as the "higher" shaman, and the recipient as the "lower." The "higher" and "lower" designations refer to actual authority and control exercised by the giver of power over the recipient. The higher shaman, it is believed, can magically take back the power which he has conferred, regardless of the distance separating the two shamans (see pp. 165–66). He may take back this power because of a personal offense, or because he has been bribed to do so by an enemy of the lower shaman. Such occurrences are frequently reported, and there are a number of former shamans who testify that they lost their power in this manner.

A sudden loss of shamanistic power is believed to result in serious illness and often in death. The lower shaman, therefore, tends to fear his higher associate and attempts to keep on good terms with him. With this purpose in mind, he sends tribute in the form of substantial gifts of material valuables (*kuit*) at regular intervals. Such *kuit* includes shotguns, hunting dogs, blowguns, curare, feather headbands (*tawaspa*), and Western-manufactured shirts and trousers. He particularly hopes that these gifts will offset any bribes that may be offered to the higher shaman.

A secondary incentive for sending tribute is the need of the lower shaman to replenish his supply of magical darts

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441
rules out the possibility of their obtaining Western-manu- 438
factured goods by entering into any labor relationship with 439
whites.

The Achuara also rely upon the Jívaro to supply them 438
with much of their salt. The Achuara have access to a distant 317
rock salt deposit of inferior quality on the Río Marañón 441
far to the south in Peru, but prefer to trade with the Jívaro
to secure the purer salt evaporated from two springs in
the Cordillera de Cutucú, one near the upper Río Mango-
siza and the other near the Río Yaupi (see Map 2 and
Plate 18).

This system of native traders is composed of pairs of 438
men normally living one to two days' walk apart who visit 439
each other every two and a half to four months. The visit- 441
ing trading partner, if he comes from the west, i.e., from
the white-Jívaro frontier, brings machetes, steel axes, and
shotguns. If from the east, he primarily carries Achuara-
made products.

These pairs of men, or trading partners, formalize their 441
essentially contractual relationship with a ritual and there- 572
after address one another in the diminutive as "little friend,"
i.e., *amiči*. While the term *amigri* is the third person possessive
form of *amigu*, from the Spanish word *amigo*, the develop-
ment and meaning of the relationship is distinctly native.[4]
Two men normally decide to become "friends" only after 441
a series of informal visits, during which they may have 431 •
exchanged small gifts. When they agree to enter into the 572
formalized trading partnership, each spends two or more
months collecting goods that are scarce in his future partner's
neighborhood. Then one visits the house of the other; a
cloth is spread on the dirt floor and the gifts of both parties
are placed in two piles on the cloth. Each man kneels

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beside his pile facing the other. Each says, "Take these things," and they embrace. The two men's wives then go through the same ritual, and finally, both men and their wives all embrace each other.

In this first exchange of goods between *amigri*, and also in subsequent exchanges, usually several large baskets of goods are involved. A typical inventory of goods given by the man coming from the east consists of feather ornaments, beads, blowguns, blowgun dart poison, a hunting dog, and a home-woven kilt. The other man, with white man's goods from the west, presents black powder, shot, percussion caps, a machete, knives, and a shotgun.

Following the first exchange, the host says to the other, "I will bring you valuables (*kuit*). You do the same for me." His visitor in turn, says, "When I send word to you, then you come to visit me." Such word, when it is transmitted later, usually is carried by some other visitor between the neighborhoods of the two *amigri*. When the former host (often accompanied by a wife) returns the visit, he receives a most hospitable reception. In fact, trading partners tend to try to outdo one another in their generosity. If one man fed the other much chicken during his earlier visit, his friend may then feel it necessary to kill a pig to supply his guest with even a greater quantity of choice meat. If he has no pig to kill, then at least he insists that his guest and his wife take half of the household's chickens back with them when they return home. The giving of half of one's easily transportable valuables to one's *amigri* is a characteristic feature of the trading partnership.

Amigri are expected to exchange equal amounts of goods with each other, at least over a period of several months, if not in a single transaction. There are standard recognized

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628 a shotgun to the aggrieved party as a compensation to termi-
682 nate the matter. If the aggrieved party, primarily considered
728 to be the eldest male of the murdered man's conjugal family,
accepts this gift, then the gift-receiver takes the responsibility
[431] for seeing that his kinsmen consider that the matter is finished.
He warns the other relatives of the dead man that if they
attempt to kill the gift-giver for the old offense, they will
have to fight him (the gift-receiver) as well.

628 While sanctions against murder by physical violence are,
682 in return, expected to be by physical violence, punitive assas-
sination of one who has murdered through bewitching may be
754 either by means of sorcery or physical violence. Normally,
the sanction for a first murder offense by means of sorcery
is also assassination by sorcery. For a second homicidal sor-
cery offense, physical violence is considered to be the more
proper sanction.

682 The importance of the concept of equivalent retaliation
562 is indicated by the sanction considered proper when a man is
278 poisoned by a woman. Poisoning (one of the favorite forms
of murder) is done almost exclusively by women, since they
alone prepare and serve the food and beer to guests. When
a man is fatally poisoned, the aggrieved family may not at-
tempt to kill the guilty woman, if they feel that the death of
a woman would be inadequate to compensate for the death
[593] of a man. In such a case, they assume that the proper sanc-
tion is to poison the guilty woman's brother. Often, however,
the vengeance is wreaked directly on the woman believed re-
sponsible. They usually have to wait several years in order
to catch the victim off guard at a feast in order to poison
him or her successfully.

[754] In both poisoning and sorcery, there is the problem of
[727] properly identifying the guilty party. Most poisoning is done
at the large *tsantsa* victory feasts, where a dozen or more

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amik'i*) between people in general, in preference to kinship terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obligation, and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure
178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of
601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of
576 a men's term of reference (*awe*) by women. A few Achuara terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the
754 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially
756 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during
181 the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend
556 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables," especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts. The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.